the Mongol characteristics. They,[1] were inclined to be squat, their noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist. They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool, dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudgery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambition of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls described in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior social position, have a large degree of independence in their sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

562 836 Part of the loose morality is doubtless due to the fact that these girls live along the caravan route where lonely, carefree men from Yarkand, Leh, and Manali travel. These caravan men laugh when anyone speaks of prostitutes. Of course there are no prostitutes. One takes what he wants and goes his way.

I did not know all of this as Rahul continued his long conversation with the two women I had helped ford the stream. I was to learn about Lahuli women later. I did know that something highly personal and intimate was being discussed because the women, at first bashful and coy, were now giggling and laughing. Finally I asked, "Rahul, what the devil goes on? Are you arranging a date come evening time?"

"No, no." He roared with laughter. "This woman with the child has been telling me what a wonderful person the other woman is. You see, they are sisters. This one without a child likes you. She wants you to stay with her tonight in their village of Sissu." By now the women stood watching me, grinning.

We were eating the condensed TF Army rations for lunch. I pretended to cogitate on the proposition as I finished a cereal bar and munched salted almonds. Finally I announced the decision. "Rahul, we'll compromise. Tell her that instead of staying in their village I will give each of them a present."

With that I reached into the TF rations, found four cookies, and gave two to the baby and one each to the women. As Rahul translated my message and presented the cookies, they gave us angry side glances and took the trail to Sissu.

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Ladak

on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be